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TWO ANTI-POVERTY STRATEGIES--NEW CAREERS VS THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME.

BY- RIESSMAN, FRANK

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THE CLOWARD-PIVEN PLAN FOR PRECIPITATING A WELFARE CRISIS TO BRING ABOUT A GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME IS CRITICIZED AS AN ANTIPOVERTY STRATEGY. BASED ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WEAKEST SEGMENTS OF THE POOR, ITS EFFECTIVENESS AS A LONG-TERM DISRUPTION OF THE POVERTY CYCLE IS QUESTIONED. A NATIONAL NEW CAREERS MOVEMENT IS PROPOSED AS AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY WHICH COULD HAVE WIDESPREAD IMPACT ON PROFESSIONAL SYSTEMS, WELFARE COLONIALISM, NEGRO-WHITE UNITY, ETC. IT WOULD INVOLVE POTENTIAL LEADERS WHO COULD EVENTUALLY ASSUME CONTROL AND PROVIDE THEIR OWN MOMENTUM. BASIC TO THE NEW CAREERS THEORY IS THE REORGANIZATION OF SERVICE POSITIONS SO THAT PEOPLE WITH LITTLE OR NO TRAINING CAN LEARN ON THE JOB AND RISE IN THE OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHY, WITH THE ULTIMATE OPTION OF BECOMING PROFESSIONALS. (AF)

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TWO ANTI-POVERTY STRATEGIES:

NEW CAREERS VS THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

by

Frank Riessman

Professor of Educational Sociology

New York University

January 1967

This article has three objectives:

1. To provide a critique of the Cloward-Piven "welfare crisis" tactic for achieving a guaranteed annual income and an "end to poverty."

2. To raise fundamental questions as to whether the guaranteed annual income itself is a significant antipoverty strategy;

3. To present the New Careers concept, with particular emphasis on its antipoverty implications.

The antipoverty program is becoming institutionalized in the United States--it is past the demonstration phase. However, most of the specific programs* are falling by the wayside as antipoverty strategies, although they remain as institutions. Thus there is little question that Operation Headstart is fundamentally institutionalized in American life, and although it does provide jobs for a significant number of poor people as nonprofessionals aides, there is no other evidence that it is a significant antipoverty strategy. The performance of many children improves in Headstart but quickly declines as they regress through the school system. Thus the notion that this program will provide a potent force toward improving disadvantaged children's education, and thereby their future employment opportunities, seems woefully doubtful.

There is no question also that the Neighborhood Youth Corps is probably a fairly effective program for keeping youngsters out of trouble for a few hours per day, but whether it represents an antipoverty strategy is quite another matter. The NYC youngsters receive practically no training and little preparation for an antipoverty career. Similarly, the Job Corps limited by its residential rationale seems far more entangled in issues of discipline, behavior control and simple administration, than in developing any far-reaching antipoverty preparation for the majority of the youngsters who are involved in its program.

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*Increasingly within the government these programs are being removed from the aegis of the direct antipoverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, whose power is rapidly declining, and placed under the control of other more traditional agencies such as the Department of Labor, the Office of Education, etc.

The Community Action Program, long involved with problems of maximum feasible participation, has demonstrated that it is possible to reach the poor with improved coordinated services, and to provide some measure of participation. These are excellent goals requiring further development, but for the most part, they appear to be various forms of making the poor more comfortable while being poor. Having a voice, having the right to participate, is an important right. But by itself it is not an antipoverty strategy (although in some cases it may have some indirect influence on the development of such strategies and legislation).

Outside the governmental system the Alinsky conflict model, which initially enjoyed great favor as a presumably radical approach to poverty, seems to have lost a lot of its steam and public interest. Increasingly, it is becoming recognized that Alinsky's program is not radical although it wears a radical garb--it does not in any way help the poor to become non poor--to leave poverty; it is highly localistic and largely concerned with organization for its own sake. It has no national program whatsoever, and actually seems to provide anger, conflict, verbiage about power instead of program, long range strategy.

But from the various antipoverty efforts and discussion there have arisen two strategies that are rapidly moving toward center stage. One is the Cloward-Piven strategy directed toward producing a crisis in the public welfare system which, it is contended, will lead to legislation providing for a Guaranteed Annual Income as a way out of the crisis.* The strategy calls for enlisting present welfare recipients in obtaining their full benefits and recruiting large numbers of eligible welfare recipients in order to

*See "A Strategy to End Poverty" by Richard Cloward and Francis Piven in The Nation, May 2, 1966. "Advocacy in the Ghetto", Richard Cloward and Richard Elman in Transaction, December 1966. Also, "The Guaranteed Annual Income," American Child, Summer 1966.

order to produce a "run" on the system. The other strategy is the New Careers position which is receiving increasing attention as the federal government moves toward a greater concern with jobs and manpower development as a fundamental antipoverty measure. This new emphasis is expressed in the increasing numbers of nonprofessionals and subprofessionals who are being employed and is highlighted by the Scheuer-Nelson Sub-Professional Career Act recently enacted by Congress.*

The remainder of this article will be concerned with the comparison of these two emerging major strategies: The Cloward-Piven welfare crisis strategy directed toward achieving a Guaranteed Annual Income, and the New Careers strategy developed by Pearl and Riessman.

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* Already in the United States there are probably close to 50,000 of these new nonprofessionals, most of the jobs having been created by the antipoverty legislation. Most estimates indicate that 25,000 such full time human service positions were produced for "indigenous" nonprofessionals by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Probably another 25,000 or more part time preschool aides have been employed through Operation Headstart, and presently through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act some 40,000 teacher aides will be employed. Medicare will involve many thousands more as Home Health aides.

PART I -Limitations of The Welfare Crisis Strategy

We have no quarrel with three postulates in the Cloward-Piven Strategy--that the welfare system is highly inadequate, that a welfare rights movement should be developed to assist welfare recipients to obtain their rights* and that the Guaranteed Annual Income is a worthy goal. Our disagreement centers on whether the three factors produce an adequate antipoverty design. Thus for us the Guaranteed Annual Income is best achieved through permanent careers plus welfare for those who really cannot work. The priority for an enduring reduction of poverty must be through permanent jobs. If income is not achieved through meaningful work, it is not likely to lead to any significant antipoverty result; that is, people do not significantly leave poverty simply by receiving an income of $3,500 per year. A meaningful job with a career opportunity built in is a much more likely way to break the cycle of poverty. Moreover, although we believe that a welfare rights movement** is very important in establishing the participation of welfare clients, obtaining their rights and changing many of the Welfare System's outmoded proceedures and rules; We do not believe that it is a fundamental

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* In an article in Transaction on Saul Alinsky we postulated the positive value of a welfare rights movement that is part of a total citizen's rights movement. (See Transaction, September-October 1965, Vol. 2, No. 6, "Self-Help Among the Poor".

**Although we are highly critical of the welfare system, we agree with Martin Rein, that it needs "humanizing rather than overthrow". Nor do we believe that it is likely to be overthrown by a welfare rights movement demanding benefits for clients and eligible welfare recipients.

antipoverty strategy! It is more accurately described as a way of making people more comfortable with better services while remaining in poverty, and while this is a valuable auxilliary goal, we do not see it as a fundamental thrust to end poverty.*

Actually, the Cloward-Piven theory is a highly elegant theory, quite fascinating and persuasive at first sight. It argues that if people who are entitled to various welfare benefits only took advantage of their legal rights, the welfare system would be swamped. There is a big "if" in this argument, however. It is almost as if one were to say "if all Negroes were to take advantage of the school system, then there would be no disadvantaged Negroes and all of them would obtain a decent education. After all, the school system is there. Some people do learn in it. It is essentially free. But as we all know the problem is much more complicated. The fact that half the people who are eligible for welfare do not even claim it, is not an irrelevancy and does pose an enormous tactical problem for the organizer who plans to enlist these individuals to claim their rightful benefits. Moreover, welfare recipients have no economic power similar to that of employed workers who can withold their labor power to demand their rights, including higher wages. (It should be noted also that a number of welfare leaders have indicated that they are concerned about the rights of those people on welfare and not at all concerned with bringing more people into the welfare system.)

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* It should be noted that there are some new developments in the Welfare Rights movement which are potentially significant. For example, picket signs now demand jobs or income (and there is a group in Chicago called JOIN (Jobs or Income Now) which is connected to the Welfare Rights group). These demands are highly significant in that they broaden the welfare rights movement. If welfare recipients were to be organized to demand the creation of nonprofessional jobs and the filling of Welfare job openings by people on welfare, this would be an important new demand. Tom Levin suggests that when the Welfare Department in a major city such as New York adds 400 new employees as it did not long ago, the demand should be made for the employment of welfare recipients as welfare interns. These people should have the opportunity of ultimately becoming full fledged welfare workers. (The U.S. Dept. of Welfare is recommending the creation of a new position of Welfare Aide). If the Welfare Rights movement became part of the job and career creation movement, it could play an important role as an <u>anti-poverty strategy</u>. (It plays a valuable role as a welfare rights movement in its own right, however).

An important question never raised by Cloward and Piven, is whether welfare recipients themselves desire to produce a welfare crisis that would lead to the end of the welfare system.

On factual grounds, the most serious difficulty in the Cloward-Piven thesis is that most welfare clients are either small children or very old or sick. Such groups are not likely to be a major leadership force in terms of motion in the society. The activists who have been organized in welfare groups in a number of cities referred to by Cloward and Piven are, in the main, small segments of Negro women in the AFDCFor Dependent Children program. Whether any such similar motion could be developed on the part of large masses of welfare clients is open to question.

In response to this criticism Cloward and Piven argue that social movements typically do not require the participation of more than about two per cent of the people concerned. While this is undoubtedly true for many social movements, it would seem that a movement directed toward producing a large scale run on welfare funds would require the participation of vast numbers of welfare clients demanding their rightful benefits in a consistent, almost daily fashion. And, in fact, this is what the original thesis holds. It even requires the involvement of masses of people who are eligible for public assistance but who do not receive it. These people not now on welfare that Cloward and Piven want to recruit into the public assistance system are probably made up of similar population groups--that is, young, old and sick. It is hard to believe that such groups could form the core of a major social movement directed toward "ending poverty."

This brings us to another major difficulty in the argument, namely, the notion that the proposal would actually end poverty in the United States. Since only one fifth of the poor receive welfare, this seems highly improbable.

It would seem that a program directed toward ending poverty should also be concerned with the millions of workers who receive less than the minimum wage, the unemployed, etc.* In other words, what might be an excellent auxiliary program is catapulted into a major program piece by the Cloward-Piven position.

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* Pearl and Riessman, New Careers for the Poor, (New York, The Free Press, 1965).

Frank Riessman
Professor of Educational Sociology
New York University
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Part II The New Careers Strategy

The New Careers approach attempts to unite jobs, rights, services and opportunity to become non poor. Besides being an antipoverty strategy, the New Careers model contains a new approach to education, training and/development, and calls for a revolutionary reorganization of professional practice. It has implications far beyond those for the poor. It is based on certain assumptions about the emerging service economy, the new rights of man in an affluent, automated age, and the limitations in quality of human services as presently organized. Finally, it is rooted in a theory of history which sees a new significant underclass rising which represents a source of progress and new human values.

While it will be necessary to describe briefly the overall New Careers position, the main emphasis in the present article will be on its relevance as an antipoverty strategy, always recognizing that this is only one of its dimensions.

Basic to the New Careers theory is the distinction between a job and a career. "Careers imply 1) permanence and 2) opportunity for upward mobility. Careers are minimally affected by vicissitudes in the economic health of society. Careers carry an assurance that if one situation is terminated another situation will be available. The New Careers proposal argues that every person has the virtual assurance of at least horizontal mobility, (increments of salary that comes with years of service) and the opportunity for vertical mobility (advancement to the next station and there on to the terminal position)."*

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* Arthur Pearl, "New Careers, One Solution to Poverty." 1966

The New Careers theory proposes that all the human service occupations (health, education, recreation, welfare, etc.) can be broken down and reorganized to provide a much more efficient service product while simultaneously allowing people who have little or no training to play a productive role in entry service positions. These untrained individuals will have the opportunity of learning on the job and rising in the service hierarchy with the ultimate option of becoming a professional. The New Careers theory requires a reorganization and redefinition of jobs for both the professional and the nonprofessional. It not only breaks the job down into component parts, but proposes new aspects of the job to be performed by nonprofessionals and to be performed by professionals. First, the theory proposes that untrained nonprofessionals can perform a great many of the tasks now performed unnecessarily by professionals, e.g. teachers tying children's shoelaces, taking attendence, etc. Second, it proposes that a hierarchy of these jobs can be developed, requiring different degrees of training. Third, it proposes that this training can be acquired on the job itself and through systematic in-service training and job based college courses.*

* The idea is to provide people with employment first and diplomas later and to introduce training while the workers are on the job with concomitant college courses provided largely at the job base. This concept is directly opposite to one of the most popular ideas in America, namely that one has to obtain long years of education before he can perform a meaningful job. The New Careers concept stresses instead that the job be provided initially and that training, upgrading and added education be built in. It is possible to begin, for example, as a teacher's aide and while obtaining courses on the job, in the evening, and during the summer, to rise within a short period of time to become an assistant teacher; then an emergency teacher (or associate teacher), and ultimately a fully licensed professional teacher. In a plan being developed in the Newark School System it is proposed that individuals with less than a high school education go through these steps while working full time, obtaining an entry salary of approximately $4,000 per year and becoming full fledged teachers in five to six years. Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey has accepted this plan and has patterned courses so that the aides can enter new careers while working full time. They will introduce these courses in the field (at the job) as well as at the University.

Fourthly, it proposes that this reorganization will free professionals to perform a much higher level of specialized services that require advanced training and experience. The theory provides the opening for the development of a number of new occupational functions for both nonprofessionals and professionals. For the professional it increases the possibility that he can play a role in program planning, administration, training and supervision.

Thus the professional can become something of a generalist as well as a more highly developed specialist. The nonprofessional, on the other hand, cannot only perform the simpler tasks which do not require advanced professional skill, but in the human services can perform some highly significant new functions which in general should not be performed by professionals, although they could, in fact, perform them. These new functions relate to the widely discussed potential of the nonprofessional to function as a peer (various types of peer intervention, including peer learning seem particularly effective), and to function in a more "subjective" fashion. In other words, what is being utilized here is the nonprofessionals' role and his time; he has more time to spend on an evening visit, on a long tutoring session, on monotonus grading of papers, in an informal social discussion, etc. His role allows him to be more equal, does not require the distance or objectivity that is so necessary and valuable in the professional role (which should not be lost), and finally, the subjectivity of a neighbor or friend. These elements are rather unique to the human services and provide the special value that the untrained entry person can deliver in the service system, thus broadening the type of intervention as well as releasing the professional to do more advanced tasks as well as new professional function related to administration, training, etc. This reorganization of the human service fields allows for a great increase in the quantity and quality of service. It is clear, then, that the New Careers position is highly pro-professional and pro quality service. It is entirely

antithetical to any notion of reducing the quality of the service or deprecating the value of the professional.

Thus far the New Careers position is not uniquely an antipoverty one. Its significance on the antipoverty agenda derives from the possibility of utilizing untrained poor people to perform the entry positions in the service hierarchy.* In light of the enormous manpower shortages in the human service fields, variously estimated at 5 million by the President's Automation Commission and the Americans for Democratic Action, there exists a great number of potential jobs. In view of the relationship of unemployment and poverty,** there is natural flow in the New Careers thesis which suggests that poor people can obtain entry jobs, and with appropriate training move up out of poverty all the way to becoming professionals. Thus the program calls not merely for job creation but for career creation, and this requires a redefinition of jobs, Civil Service requirements and training. The significant feature that must be emphasized here is the relationship of on the job training to college courses. College courses must be attuned to the field situation, must in part, be based in the field and various forms of accredition must be developed to permit the New Careerists to rise fairly rapidly and thus to move fully out of poverty.

* It should be noted that a number of studies indicate that the new indigenous nonprofessionals employed by the antipoverty program have worked quite effectively in reaching the poor and helping the poor to utilize services. They have been strikingly effective, for example, in persuading people toobtain birth control information and to utilize the new birth control clinics. In fact, the reports indicate that these neighborhood residents are perhaps the most effective agents in bringing the new birth control techniques to the low income population. A research investigation conducted in nine cities indicates that these new workers evidence high morale and considerable involvement in their work, and have been well accepted by professionals. Most of the difficulties anticipated, for example, problems of confidentiality, authority, over-identification with the agency and so on, have not been significant, according to this investigation. An ancillary, though especially interesting finding, is that the hard core poor who, incidentally, were only hired in small number have nevertheless done as good a job as the more "creamed" nonprofessional recruit. Study by Daniel Yankelovitch, Inc., NYC, 1966.

** The Freedom Budget (p. 27) estimates "that 40% of all poverty in the U.S. is directly attributable to full-time unemployment or part-time unemployment." A "Freedom Budget" for All Americans, published by A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York City, October 1966.

But it should be quickly added that this New Career design is just as applicable to the need for New Careers by people in all walks of life, in all classes, at all levels. Part of the work alienation that is so widespread in this society is related to the fact that most people do not have the option of starting and developing a new career. This could be changed through the New Careers model by introducing transferability of credits and experience, so that an accountant, for example, might rapidly acquire a new degree in medicine or engineering. It is patently ridiculous for an advanced professional to have to go through the entire course program in order to become a doctor, when much of what he has learned is probably transferable if the new program is properly tailored permitting on the job experience, job based courses, etc. Moreover, there are a large number of non-credentialed people in this society, including housewives, returned Peace Corpsmen, retired police officers, businessmen, college graduates, and so on, who would be most interested in developing a new career, if it could be done rapidly and on the job with appropriate salary. (If the nonprofessional movement develops reapidly it will require a large number of these non-credentialled supervisors and trainers at the new middle line supervisory positions. This will also provide a significant new career line).

Let us now return to the significance of the New Careers approach as an antipoverty strategy. We are making the assumption that there must be a new Bill of Rights, and that a primary right is the right to a permanent job, to a career, and to an income. (Parenthetically, it might be noted that other new rights which need to be emphasized today are rights to participation, legal rights, rights to various types of services, medical, health, education, etc.) All of these rights are genuine possibilities in an affluent age, in a highly advanced economy where a small number of productive workers can produce all the basic goods required by everyone and therefore the population as a whole has the right to what might be called the "surplus" jobs and income.

Most discussions of the Guaranteed Annual Income stress income free of work. While we recognize that this is an important right, we think that the priority should be guaranteed work, guaranteed annual wages, and that if the work cannot be made available or if people are unable to do it, then income free of work should be provided. We refuse, however, to prejudge the question by assuming that there are a great many people who cannot or will not want to work, or that jobs cannot be meaningfully produced for them. Unemployability is very much related to the needs of the economy as was well illustrated during World War II when large numbers of supposedly unemployable people were rapidly recruited into the labor force, and unemployment was reduced to about 1% of the civilian labor force. Moreover, the combination of human service jobs and automation allows for the possibility that large numbers of people who might be old*, disabled,or untrained can quickly be involved in entry level human service work. The organization of more efficient child care and neighborhood services would allow a large number of unmarried women who new spend their time taking care of their own children, to function in meaningful positions if they so desire. We are not suggesting that any of these individuals be forced to do this, of course. We are suggesting, however, that the best way to develop a program for an anti-poverty oriented Guaranteed Annual Income, is to develop permanent jobs and careers, rather than stressing income independent of these jobs. The latter is an appropriate auxilliary demand; it should not, however, be the primary focus. There are a number of reasons for saying this. First, there is a great deal of need for labor; the human services, especially education, need a great deal of assistance, both quantitive and qualitative. Second, the world, especially the developing nations, needs a significant antipoverty program and needs considerable of our labor, both productive and service labor. Third, without at all being Calvinist in orientation, we believe that it is preferable

for people to work and that they will want to work if there are meaningful careers in which they can help other people through providing human services.* People develop their identity, their meaning in life through working in an occupation and the organized relationships it brings with other people. They develop their competencies in this fashion, as a rule. Thus we think every opportunity must be provided for developing careers in meaningful work. Some people may not be able to perform these jobs on a full time basis and provision should thus be made for their part time working and their guaranteed full annual income. In cases where individuals cannot work at all, full guaranteed income should be provided with no stigma attached.

We think the New Careers antipoverty strategy is likely to be most effective for the following additional reasons:

(1) Income deficiency is not necessarily the essence of poverty. A great many poverty related problems derive not merely from income deficiency, but from lack of a meaningful life. We think a meaningful life is very related to a meaningful job, and thus we believe that such a job will have the greatest multiplier effect on changing a great variety of poverty related characteristics even for those people who do not move far out of poverty, income-wise; that is, for those individuals who do not move far beyond the entry job. However, for those individuals who move beyond that point and move up the scale toward professional positions, the argument holds even more strongly. The New Careers approach genuinely assists people to change their lives and to leave poverty rather than becoming more comfortable in it on a limited income.

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* Warren Benis observes that the work of the future will not be characterized by the dull monotony of the factory, nor by the bureaucracy of traditional large scale organization. "People will be more intellectually committed to their jobs and will probably require more involvement, participation, and autonomy in their work." Warren Benis, "Beyond Bureaucracy", Transaction, July-August 1965, Vol. 2 No. 5, pp. 34-35. Benis believes that the leisure centered society envisioned by Robert Theobald and other Guaranteed Annual Income advocates may arise in the far distant future, but long before that the new kind of work will become the "emotional creative sphere of life."

(2) The multiplier effect or the pluses or extras do not only exist for the individual in the New Careers approach. The economy benefits from the work, the services that are produced. These gains are far greater than for those individuals who receive income only and produce nothing. Moreover, the Guaranteed Annual Income as Lampman and other have indicated, may be a very expensive program, costing as much as $30 billion. This is not a high figure as war economy expenses go, but it would be nice to get a return on it in terms of productive services. As Mayor John Lindsey stated recently: "We must relieve the mounting burden of welfare on the taxpayer, give more people who are able to work a chance to do so, and thus add purchasing power and productive energy to the city's economy."*

(3) The possibility of wide alliences would seem much greater in a program directed toward job creation and full employment. Support should come from the Labor Movement (all those receiving less than the minimum wage, or near the minimum wage would see that wages should be forced up by increasing full employment.) The program should also have considerable appeal in the ghetto, in the Civil Rights movements, in the service fields and profassions if properly presented, and among liberal groups generally. Most interesting is the fact that Conservatives are very responsive to this type of approach. They like Arthur Pearl's slogan--"Every man a taxpayer."

(4) The jobs to be created in human services are not likely to be automated out of existence; they represent the rising occupationsof the future. To some extent, some of the generic underlying elements in any one human service area may be transferable to others and career lines thus shifted.

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* New York Times, December 7, 1966, p. 32.

New Careers and Social Change

The New Careers approach allows not only for the producing of services, employment and attendant psychological benefits, but also stimulates a great variety of significant institutional changes--changes in the Civil Service system, the educational system, etc. It may be useful to summarize briefly the institutional changes immanent in the New Careers design. The New Careers concept produces a strain toward full employment and the raising of wages for all labor groups; the New Careers concept has broad ramifications for the reorganization of work and service in many areas--in business, in the old public works which could be organized to develop career hierarchical lines;* the New Careers concept has relevance for the development of Adult Education, providing it with new vitality and a new mandate. (Adult Education can, for example, play a significant role in fulfilling the literacy needs that large numbers of the nonprofessional workers will experience as they rise in the hierarchy as well as providing many other educational advantages

The New Careers approach has important implications for all training and college education. It suggests that much more of this training needs to be increasingly inductive and clinical. Thus doctors in training might obtain more of their field experience from the beginning rather than waiting for their internship and residency (Western Reserve University Medical School has developed a plan in this direction); the New Careers concept suggests the simultaneous development of workers and their trainers. This allows for the rapid development of a training capability which has implications for the developing nations that largely lack a training cadre;

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*It is interesting to observe the effect of the New Careers trend on the older type nonprofessionals who have long worked in settlement houses, hospitals, child care, etc. In New York City, for example, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees of the AFL-CIO (which incidentally has in its union 20,000 hospital workers, and 7,000 school lunch aides) is now developing a plan whereby nurses aides can become licensed practical nurses, with the required educationand upgrading taking place on the job itself.

the New Careers concept may have special bearing on the development of population control on a wide scale in countries where the birth rate is preventing the rapid economic development of the nation--family planning workers have been one of the most effective agents in persuading members of the population to utilize the new birth control methods; the New Careers concept suggests the possibility of new careers for people in all walks of life at all ages and hence brings significant hope to older people who are becoming an ever increasing percentage of the pop- population. The notion that they need not start from the beginning to develop a new career is an extremely important option for them; the New Careers movement has consequences not only for the increase in the quantity of services but also for the linking and coordination of the human services. The nonprofessionals functioning as expeditor in the new neighborhood service center can provide the cement and energy in the service system to fulfill this function; the New Careers concept has major implications for developing a powerful integration movement in the United States which will be based upon jobs, and an economic, productive base, rather than the current emphasis on the consumption areas, such as housing, public accomodations, education. New Careers may be the major way in which economic opportunity can be developed "to fulfill these rights" (it is far more meaningful than the family oriented approach implied by the Moynihan thesis, which presumably had the same ultimate goal).

Our general theory of progress is that in any period of history there is typically a progressive underclass that is critical of the ways of the society, the methods of organization and control, and the central values. This was true of the working class in the 30's and the middle class earlier. These groups represented new, significant progressive economic forces and carried with them advanced demands for the society. In the present society, this is largely true

of segments of the Negro population. But this group lacks an economic base which would provide genuine power, resources, common interests and everyday job based interaction. We would suggest that all of these latter requirements could be provided for large numbers of people from the ghetto, working in integrated settings in human service occupations, together with professionals who also have a strong interest in reorganizing these human services so that they, the professional can be productive and creative. We recognize, of course, that this group of professionals does not represent the entire professional stratum. Some professionals are mainly status, guild and credential centered. They have vested interests in maintaining irrelevant, outmoded technologies and attaching themselves to the monopolistic systems that protect these vested interests. Thus, it is not the entire professional stratum which represents a forward thrust, a progressive historical force, but an increasingly large segment may--and this group must be allied with the nonprofessional human service worker in large scale associations directed toward a reorganization of the professiona and the society.

The New Careers "Movement"

In order to fulfill its potential the New Careers movement must achieve the following objectives:*

(1) The nonprofessionals themselves must be organized in a new type of organization. We envision that this organization will include elements of social movement, trade union components, and some features that characterize professional associations such as the Nation Education Association or the National Association of Social Workers. Most important, a national New Careers Movement must include not only nonprofessionals but also professionals who favor the concept and want the human services reorganized. Thus it will be a very different type of organization than the traditional labor union or the traditional professional association, although to be effective it will include elements of both these types of organizations as well. This new organization might include many individuals that support the New Careers philosophy or wish to careerize their dead end occupations, or themselves wish to become "New Careerists": e.g., the "old" subprofessionals working in hospitals, schools, settlement houses; housewives who want a new career; retired people; returning Peace Corps youngsters, etc. Supporters of the New Careers idea from among other groups in the society (labor, business, church, youth, etc. should also be included in this new movement.** This type of

* It is probably going to be necessary for the nonprofessionals to belong to a number of different groups, to have, as it were, multiple membership. Thus a teacher's aide might belong to a teacher's union along with professional teachers, and also belong to a national new careers movement which included both professionals, nonprofessionals and their friends. He might also belong to a union of antipoverty workers or to one of the community unions of the poor, being organized by the Industrial Union department of the AFL-CIO.

**It should be noted that the beginnings of such a movement are already emerging in various parts of the country. In San Francisco Mayor John Shelley is honorary chairman of a committee called "New Careers In San Francisco." This group has issued a brochure and is calling a major conference. The group includes the Urban League Human Rights Commission, Family Service Agency, etc. Various groups in New York City and Wash., D.C. are beginning to organize nonprofessionals. The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty is planning to call a series of regional conference moving toward a national conference of nonprofessionals. The Community and Social Agency Employees Unions, Local 1707 in New York City has organized 600 nonprofessionals in an antipoverty program called Youth In Action.

organizacion is going to be necessary in order to provide a pressure (including lobbying) for the institutional changes, for example in the Civil Service system, educational system, etc.

(2) Changes must be developed in personnel practice and the Civil Service system. New entry requirements must be established, doing away temporarily with the typical testing devices (although ultimately any new careerist may be trained on the job to pass these tests and enter the Civil Service system at that point in traditional fashion). New job definitions will also be required and new job hierarchies developed in relation to job experience, field training, etc.

(3) Colleges must be involved in combining their courses with field based training for nonprofessionals. The nonprofessionals' experience in the field, on the job training, and life experience must all be given college credit to enable him to become a professional while working. The model being developed at Newark whereby clinical professors are to be brought into the field from various state colleges in order to provide college courses in the field base should provide a significant illustration.

(4) A program demanding the creation of at least one million nonprofessional careers must be mounted. Such a program would not be at all expensive--it would cost about five billion dollars (see below)--and would bring vast benefits for many different groups in the society (it would provide greatly increased service, reduce large manpower shortages, provide jobs and careers, etc.). We believe that the nonprofessionals would strongly support such a program for two reasons: First, the employment of numbers of new nonprofessionals increases the possibility of promotion for the already employed nonprofessional to positions as assistant trainer, assistant supervisor, etc. In other words, it produces pressure for the development of new career lines. Second, the newly employed nonprofessionals provide an excellent recruitment source for the New Careers movement which should rapidly swell in numbers and influence, thus increasing the strength of the demands of the nonprofessionals as a whole.

(5) The New Careers movement must win a wide variety of allies: Labor, the welfare wights groups, the Civil Rights forces, a fairly large segment of professionals and their associations, the churches (groups such as the National Council of Churches of Christ), the liberal groups (such as the Americans for Democratic Action and the League of Industrial Democracy), governmental agencies, the intellectual establishment and the press. In order towin these allies the movement is going to have to clarify the full implications of the New Careers concept for institutional change and go far beyond its role as a strategy against poverty. It will also have to show its relationship to other significant developing movements andideas, for example, the new concern with rights, particpation, anti-alienation and decentralization, the demand for accountability and predictability with regard to human services, the new concepts of expanding power (rather than theytypical finite definitions regarding power where one group must take power away from another group). Actually the New Careers concept has enormous appeal for conservatives (every man a taxpayer), professionals and governmental agencies attempting to develop a reorganization and significant change in service delivery. As yet, it has not had sufficient glamour, the veneer of nostalgic radicalism or the nihilistic anarchism that seems so popular with various segments of the American intellectual establishment today. Its far reaching implications for structural change, enabling our military centered economy to move toward a genuine welfare economy must be clarified.

Cost Comparisons

Many people like Cloward and Piven want to believe the Guaranteed Annual Income program would cost only 11 or 12 billion dollars but estimates by Lampman, Rein and others indicate that the total cost in lost income from the people who might stop working, etc., may lead to a cost as high as $30 billion.* By contrast, the following New Careers budget providing jobs for one million families or (4 to 5 million people) is remarkable inexpensive ($5 billion) and has more multiplier effects. (For $30 billion we could create jobs for six million families or 24 to 30 million people. The vast institutional changes that would be produced in the society by this type of program are almost inconceivable. They go far beyond what would be involved in giving income to 6 million families.)

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* See "The Guaranteed Annual Income" in American Child, Summer, 1966.

A $5 BILLION NEW CAREERS BUDGET

The aim is to provide 1 million nonprofessional jobs at approximately $4,000 per year.*

1.	700,000 teacher aides - This would directly aid 700,000 teachers and 20 million children.	$2,800,000,000
2.	250,000 aides to work out of neighborhood service centers in every low income community in the United States--thus serving 40 million people. (Neighborhood Service Center Aides could also be assigned to Health Department, Welfare Department, etc.).	$1,800,000,000**
3.	50,000 training aides at $5,000 per year ($250 million), and 10,000 professionals (supervisors, etc.) at approximately $10,000 per year.	$ 350,000,000
		$4,950,000,000

* Americans for Democratic Action, at its 1966 convention, proposed that 5 million of these jobs be created in public services in the next five years. Included in their list were police aides, recreation aides, homemakers, welfare aides, code enforcement inspectors. President Johnson's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress proposed 500,000 such full time jobs.

** $1 billion for Aides; $800 million for storefront service centers.

CONCLUSION

Cloward and Piven propose that a welfare crisis be produced by the organization of the least strong segments of the poor who are not now in motion and do not represent an economicallyprogressive underclass.

The major error in the Cloward-Piven strategy lies in failing to grasp the long-term new economic trend of the society and its reflection in significant, developing strata. This is the trend toward service work, particularly in the human services. The performer of this work is the professional and the rapidly growing nonprofessional work force.

A more effective movement might be developed around a program directed toward widespread institutional changes with many "pluses." Such a program could propose, for example, one million non-professional careers in the public sector. This kind of employment might be quite appealing to many people, both on and off welfare. (We suspect that it would be easier to involve many welfare recipients in meaningful jobs than to organize them in order to produce a welfare crisis). Moreover, the nonprofessionals when they then become employed might be organized together with professionals in a national New Careersmovement. Such a movement could have wide impact on the professional systems, welfare colonialism, Negro-white unity, etc.

The nonprofessional group will probably include many young, potentially active, developing leaders and thus it is more likely that after the movement has begun, its own leaders will take over and provide their own momentum.

The Guaranteed Annual Income is an important subsidiary goal in a social movement which must be built on permanent careers which, in turn, must lead to basic structural changes in the society and must be propelled by economically progressive groups that provide their own steam and funds. There is a great danger that the GAI appeal will be made central and thus divert from a much more decisive agenda. Essentially, any guaranteed income program independent of job and career development for poor people is likely to be quite limited and does not furnish any basic cure for poverty. It does not provide a way of breaking the cycle of poverty.